1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

292 On festive days, or when going into town in the summer months, women of all ages like to wear old-fashioned dress and
●301 ornaments. In addition to the blouse, *chamal*, belt, apron, and shawl, they put narrow bands of colored silk ribbon across the head from front to back. These strips of ribbon take the place of a kerchief and are held in position by a band of metal disks, known as a *trarülonko*, that encircles the head above the ears (Pl. IV, Fig. 2). The hair is worn at the back in two long braids, between which a single bright ribbon may be tied to form a sort of *H*. Earrings are much in favor, and against the breast is worn a large pendant called a *trapelakucha*. Both the *trarülonko* and the *trapelakucha* used to be fashioned of silver, and women who own such heirlooms wear them proudly. Recently, however, these ornaments have been made of baser metals such as nickel.

ARTS AND CRAFTS

[171] In no regard is the transitional character of Araucanian culture more notable than in the field of native technology. Until
283 recent times the Mapuche practiced a wide range of arts and
286 crafts, but today the only activity of the sort that survives everywhere is the spinning of wool and weaving on hand looms.
[462] Nearly all women learn to spin and weave. In their spare time they make many things for home use and can always find a market in town for the surplus. From numerous references in
28 the literature one gathers that Araucanian craftsmen formerly
32 manufactured many objects of stone and wood, and that many of them were fine basketmakers, potters, and silversmiths.[illegible] At
463 present, a specialist here and there continues one or another of the traditional crafts,[illegible] and the others purchase what they want

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[illegible] A large body of literature is devoted to Araucanian arts and crafts. Many references may be found in Cooper, 1946, pp. 713-19; and in Brand, 1941*a*, pp. 29-33. Good studies of stone and wood work, basketry, and pottery are available in Joseph, 1931*a*. For weaving, see Lothrop, 1930; Joseph, 1931*b*; and Oyarzún and Latcham, 1928. Silver work is described in Fontecilla, 1946. Guevara (1929, II: 247-85) provided a general treatment of native industries.

[illegible] At Cautinche, for example, even the custom of weaving has almost gone out of existence. A number of women still weave at Curarrehue and

283 286 177 There is reason to believe that they had learned the rudiments of spinning and weaving, probably from the same source,‡ before the arrival of the Incas (*circa* A.D. 1450), and that they utilised the wool of the guanacos slain by their hunters in the confection of articles of dress.

177 286 The Incas introduced the llama and vicuña into the country, and from that time weaving became a recognised art among the northern tribes, although farther south the possession of a few of these animals was considered as a sign of considerable wealth. But the wearing of woollen clothing did not become generalised till the introduction of sheep during the Spanish occupation. This animal increased rapidly in the fertile plains of Southern Chile, and shortly formed one of the principal sources of riches among the Indians. To-day, cotton cloth is also extensively used.

291 The dress of the Araucanos, both men and women, consists of two principal garments, the *chamal* and the *iculla* or *macunpi*, both made of coarse native cloth, generally of a dark blue colour. The former is worn by the men in guise of breeches, and consists of a square of cloth passed between the legs with the four corners drawn up under a waistbelt. By the women it is worn draped over the left shoulder, where it is fastened with a thorn, pointed bone, or a silver pin. Passing under the right armpit, it envelops the body and hangs to the knee, kept in place by a woollen cord or waist band.

[177] The *iculla* of the women is a smaller square, and hangs from the neck, mantle fashion; it is generally discarded indoors. Since the introduction of cotton goods the men usually wear coarse shirts of this material; formerly this garment was made of soft skins. Over all they wear the *macunpi* or poncho. A handkerchief or strip of coloured wool (*trarilonco*) is bound round the forehead, and completes the ordinary dress.

These Indians go barefoot, and seldom wear the raw hide sandals of the Chilian peasant, although some of those who live in the neighbourhood of the towns, and are brought more into contact with civilisation, occasionally wear boots and hats. The children generally run about quite nude, or at most with a small skin apron, which, however, they discard in their games.

•301 *Ornaments.*—The Araucanos are not so much given to personal adornment as most savage or barbarian races, although the women show a certain love of display. The most ancient and the most universal of their trinkets are undoubtedly the collars and necklets of bright-coloured stones. They usually employ green or bluish green stones (silicates of copper oxides), such as malachite or azurite, which abound all through the country, calling them *llancas*, a name commonly adopted in Chile to express these ores. Small pieces of these stones polished and perforated were strung on cords of twisted fibre. Those tribes who dwelt near the coast used small shells and coloured pebbles for the same purpose.

The coming of the Incas gave them a knowledge of the use of metal, and both gold and silver were extensively worked for ornamental purposes. These ornaments were mostly simple in form and of rude workmanship, although some

‡ [i.e., the Calchaqui---Analyst]

of them show considerable ingenuity in their fabrication. After the Spanish 301 ● conquest and the settling of missionaries among them, the cross, especially the [117 Maltese, became a favourite design in their silverwork. The chiefs used spurs, bits and stirrups of silver, and frequently adorned their saddles, bridles and whip 717] handles with the same metal.

Owing to the Spaniard's greed for gold, and the dangers to which its display exposed them, this metal became less and less used, but their love for silver ornaments continues up to the present day.

The principal adornments of the women consisted of enormous earrings in the form of a half disc, frequently measuring 6 inches in diameter, bracelets, necklets, collars, head bands, waist bands, and long pins with large heads in the form of discs, half-moons, or bell-shaped. These were used to fasten their mantles. A favourite ornament is a strip of soft hide covered with rows of small silver beads. This is worn either as a head or waist band, and very frequently as a collar. Rings, usually plain silver bands, are frequently worn. Another favourite ornament is the [illegible], or chain pendant, worn suspended by a clasp from the breast, and having small trinkets hung at the extremity.

The *Araucano* neither daubs his face with paint nor uses tattooing as a means 302 of beautifying his personal appearance, although formerly their war parties [304] painted their faces to strike terror into the hearts of their enemies. The elaborate designs and totem marks used by some of the northern races seem to have had no counterpart among them, and they seem to have had no special identification mark to distinguish them if slain in battle, this task falling to the lot of the women who usually followed the war party not far in the rear.

Habitations.—As I have already mentioned, the primitive dwelling of the 342 Araucano was the toldo or skin tent, such as is even now used by the Indian tribes of the Southern Pampas. When they began to lead a more sedentary life, they constructed rude wattle and daub huts, the cross-pieces of which were lashed together with fibrous creepers. These were probably at first circular in form, but finding them too small they afterwards gave them an oval shape, and finally began to build them in their present rectangular design.

The work of building these huts is a great event in the life of the Indians. The construction is not all conducted as one operation, but is generally divided [521] into three stages, each of which gives occasion for a great feast, especially the final one. On this occasion, if the owner is a chief, or is well off, the feast lasts for several days. The first stage is the erecting of the posts and framework; the second the filling-in of the walls; and lastly the thatching of the roof with long coarse rushes.

The huts vary in size according to the necessities of the family, being from 20 to 60 feet in length and from 15 to 30 in width; the walls are about 6 feet in height. They are occupied by the owner, his wives, unmarried children, and sometimes by other children. The children and unmarried men and girls sleep pell- [513] mell, spreading skins on the beaten earth floor where fancy dictates.

G.Latcham F-6 (1866-1943) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. XXXIX, 1909, Plate XXXIV.

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● 301
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[illegible]

[end plate 2]

Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. XXXIX, 1909, Plate XXXV.

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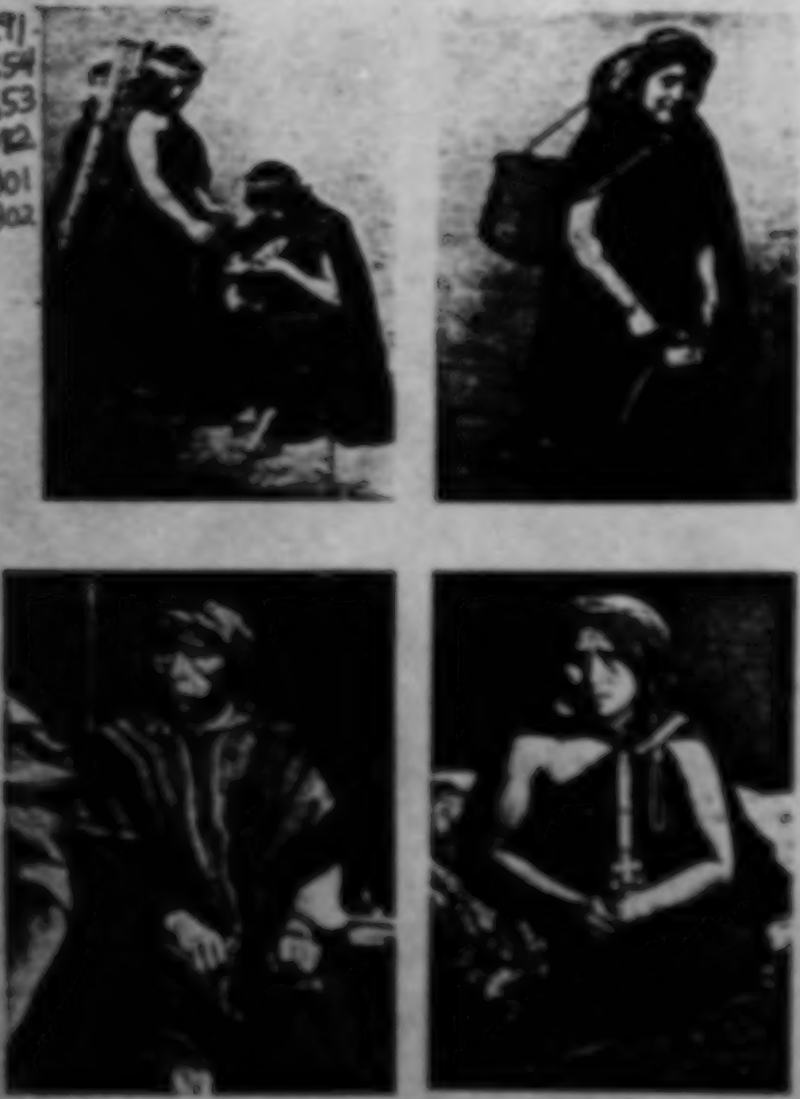


[illegible]

[end plate 2]

302 early 17th century, the men let their hair grow in long loose locks to the shoulders, sometimes doubling it upward and rolling it round the head, and cutting it in a fringe across the forehead. On going to war, the head was shaved, leaving only a corona like a friar's (Mariño de Lovera, 1865, p. 132). It was considered a great indignity to have one's hair cut off by force (González de Nájera, 1889, p. 47).

All accounts since the late 18th century describe the women's hair as done up in two long braids (Carvallo i Goyeneche, 1876, p. 133, and others thereafter). Molina says "varias trenzas" (1901, p. 145). Ovalle (1888, 12:161) and González de Nájera (1889, p. 47) refer to tresses or braids, but not clearly to two only. According to Marggrav (1648, p. 283, cf. also woodcut, p. 284), the women wore their hair loose, but bound it up during menses. Some Chilotan women of the Castro region wore it bound with small woven bands; others, loose and hanging over the shoulders (Brouwer, 1646, p. 60). A woman with short hair might add to her own the hair cut from a young girl's head (Félix José, 1916, 1:287).

The comb (ruñe) used was commonly the brush-comb, made of a bunch of reeds or thick grass stalks well tied together.

Depilation of facial (including eyebrows) and pubic hair by men and women with the use of two shell valves or of two trapezoidal metal plates serving as tweezers was customary, in fact, de rigueur. (Marggrav, 1648, p. 283; Rosales, 1877–78, 1:167; Havestadt, 1883, 2:608–9; Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 56, 58.)

304 **Body ornamentation.**—No mutilations in the way of head deformation or piercing of lips or septum are reported. Ear lobes were pierced for earrings. Tattooing was completely absent. There does not 302 appear to have been much face or body painting in early times. González de Nájera (1889, p. 46) reports it absent, but this is seemingly too sweeping (L. de Valdivia, 1887, s. v. colü; cf. Medina, 1882, p. 173). At any rate, more recently face painting was not uncommon (Guevara Silva, 1929, p. 15).

301 **Bodily adornments.**—By the men, some use was made of feathers in games then, or by warriors for hair- and helmet-adornments (Ovalle, 1888, p. 161; Molina, 1878 b, pp. 436, 441), but in general feathers played a minor role in *Mapuche-Huilliche* body decoration. In the main, too, except for the *Pehuenche*, the *Mapuche-Huilliche* men devoted their attention to decorating their saddle gear rather than themselves. Huilliche formerly wore large silver earrings.

Women's chief adornments in earlier times were necklaces of llancas (llanca), tupu pins, breastpins, and ear pendants. The llancas were green or bluish-green stones, mostly malachite and azurite, perforated and polished. Beads of sea shells were also used, but were not nearly so highly esteemed as the llancas. The tupu ([illegible]) was a long metal pin with a large discoid, semicircular or spherical head used

301 to fasten the skull. Glass beads, chaquiras, were early imported by the Spaniards, and later displaced the aboriginal llancas. The characteristic large quadrangular metal ear pendants (chaguai, upul) are clearly recorded as early as the middle of the 17th century (Rosales, 1877-78, 1:159); the wheel-shaped ones, still earlier (González de Nájera, 1889, p. 47).

In the 19th century, the number and variety of silver and beaded women's adornments (as described in detail by, e.g., Moesbach, 1936, pp. 213-14, and others)—necklaces, bracelets, anklets, finger rings, ear pendants, brooches, buckles, and so forth—was very great. In general, however, this represents the final phase of a gradual evolution from a much simpler style of women's adornment current at the time of first White contact, an evolution marked by the substitution of glass chaquiras (beads) for the native llancas, by more and more widespread use of silver, and by the luxuriant growth of new forms of both bead and silver "jewelry."

TRANSPORTATION

491 **Land transportation.**—There were no roads such as were common in *Inca* territory, but only trails. Bridges (huiñol) consisted merely of a log or several logs spanning small streams. The tumpline and 482 fiber bag of simple-loop netting technique were used for carrying goods. 492 The llama served as a pack animal; the dog was not so used. Soon after the coming of the Spaniard, the *Mapuche-Huilliche* took to horse riding. (Cf. supra under Domesticated Animals, p. 706.)

501 **Water transportation.**—Three chief types of watercraft were used by the *Mapuche-Huilliche:* the plank boat, the dugout, and the reed balsa. As Lothrop (1932, p. 255) points out, all three were more or less crescent or new-moon shaped, with raised and pointed bow and stern.

Plank boats (dalca, piragua) of 3 planks were found in large number among the *Araucanian*-speaking people of Corcovado Gulf when first encountered by Cortés Hojea in 1558 (Goicueta, 1852, p. 511). Plank boats, while more characteristic of the Chilotans and southern mainland Huilliche, were also observed farther north (Oña, canto 13, 1917, [illegible] p. 340, mouth of the Bío-Bío River). The planks were lashed together with fiber rope (of Chusquea sp.), which does not rot under water, and [illegible] caulked with leaves of tiaca (Caldcluvia paniculata, according to Molina, 1901, p. 167) and inner bark of maqui (*Aristotelia maqui*). They were propelled by about 8 to 10 rowers, a coxswain steering at the stern with a pole or paddle. In a favorable wind, a sail was set up. Up to the end of the 17th century, the dalca was of only 3 planks, but, in the course of the 18th century, it developed into a 5-plank (Olivares, 1874, p. 371) and later a 7-plank craft. (González de Agüeros, 1791,

1-Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentine Araucanians

113 before 1767, Falkner (1935) between circa 1740 and 1767, Amat y Junient (1927) circa 1760, Sánchez Labrador (1936), Carvallo i Goyeneche (1875) last third of 18th century, Sors (1921) circa 1780-83, De la Cruz (1835) 1806, Poeppig (1835-36) 1826-29, D'Orbigny (1835-47) 1829, Barbará (1879, 1880), 1847-49 to circa 1856, Guinnard (1864) 1856-59, Cox (1863) 1862-63, Musters (1871) 1869-70, Mansilla (1877) 1870, Moreno (1879) 1876-77, Milanesio (1898) 1880-98, La Vaulx (1897-98, 1901) 1896-97. Of these sources the most detailed is De la Cruz. D'Orbigny's and Barbará's lengthy accounts are largely drawn from that of De la Cruz. The other accounts are mostly based on independent first-hand observation. In general, our information upon the Argentine *Araucanians* is not nearly so abundant as that upon their Chilean brethren.

177 The culture of the Argentine *Araucanians* was distinctly a palimpsest one. Some elements of material culture were given up and others substituted therefor, and a few shifts in social and religious culture occurred, but beneath these superficial changes the basic ancient *Araucanian* culture derived or brought from Chile remained largely intact and is readily discernible. The more significant of these changes, so far as known from our very imperfect source material, are given in this section.

241 *Among many of the Argentine Araucanians*, horticulture, the basic productive economy of the Chilean *Araucanians*, was abandoned entirely, although some of them kept up a certain amount of gardening. (Cf. Falkner, 1935, pp. 99, 130; Cox, 1863, p. 99; Musters, 1871, pp. 70-71, 200; Milanesio, 1898, p. 29.) Sors (1921, 39:164) states that the *Pehuenche* ordinarily did not plant. The *Pehuenche* of Molina (1901, p. 268), De la Cruz (1835, p. 60), and Poeppig (1835-36, 1:382, 392) practised no horticulture, it seems, but possessed cattle, horses, and other livestock in fair abundance. *Among many of the Araucanians* farther east in the Piedmont and out on the Pampa, hunting, with the bolas and other weapons, entirely superseded horticulture. [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] *The Pehuenche* men as well as women used to paint their faces and arms and legs and to wear various pendants and "jewelry". (Amat y Junient, 1927, 53:371; Carvallo i Goyeneche, 1875, p. 128; Sors, 1921, 39:181.) [illegible]

177 *Among the new elements*, mostly adopted from the non-*Araucanian* Patagonian tribes, were: The bota de potro (Molina, 1901, p. 268; De la Cruz, 1835, p. 57); roasting meat by placing hot stones inside the carcass (Cox, 1863, p. 168); the portable skin-covered tent of conical (Poeppig, 1835-36, 1:382) or tabular (De la Cruz, 1835, p. 37; Cox, 1863, pp. 166-67) type; chicha of fermented algarrobo beans (Mansilla, 1877, 2:40); chewing of chicha mass (Guinnard, 1864, p. 210); use of horse blood as a soap for washing the face, the hair, and mantles (De la Cruz, 1835, p. 60; D'Orbigny, 1835-47, 2:263), and of a certain clay for rub-

in an herbal decoction. Not knowing its ingredients she gave her 846 babies an herbal bath daily in a decoction of leaves of limpia plata, bark of apple tree, and either the bark of canelo or the leaves of boldo. She believed these to be soothing and a preventive of rashes. She boiled a pinch of each in water for some time, then strained the decoction into a dish through a piece of cloth. The baby was seated in it, and handfuls of it were dashed against the body. "I made a fresh decoction each day. We Mapuche believe that a decoction must be used the day it is prepared."

POSTNATAL INTERESTS

EAR PIERCING, BODY DECORATIONS

Araucanians pierce the ears, but not the nose or the lip. One piercing is made in each ear lobe. According to old informants, every child, formerly, had its ears pierced immediately after birth; in general, today, only girls have theirs pierced. Piercing is done before the child is 3 months old, "that is, before it feels pain; we learned that from the Chileans." "My two daughters there [6 and 8 years old] have not had their ears pierced. I shall not have them pierced any more; it would be too painful." 304

Any person may do the piercing, but since a member of the family may be too tenderhearted, an outsider is usually asked to do so. Persons mentioned were old persons, "a man in Mehuin who always does it for children there," "a man we know well who passed by our ruka and I called him in," "I myself," and neighbors.

Formerly ear lobes were rubbed well with ashes and then pierced with the sharp point of a bone. It was believed the ashes would anesthetize the ear lobe. Old persons still rub the lobes with ashes, but piercing today is done with a threaded needle, a piece of the thread being left in the hole to keep it from growing shut. The ends of the thread are tied to form a loop. Anyone fondling the baby will pull the thread back and forth. "I saw an old man do that recently to a little girl on his lap." An ear could be pierced from either the upper or the lower side of the lobe. Non-Araucanians had seen a bar of soap held under the lobe, and the lobe pierced with a threaded needle with a quick movement from top downward. The needle had been held in the fire to sterilize it.

When the piercing is well healed, the thread is pulled out and a small [301] earring inserted. Earrings are increased in size as the child grows older. "We give our girls earrings today to retain our customs.

302 still want a small girl to have long hair." Older girls have it cut shoulder length or longer. To keep the hair from the face, an older girl, today, as formerly, takes a strand of yarn or a narrow band of cloth, passes it under the hair at the back, brings it forward either behind or in front of the ears, and then ties the ends in a knot on top of the head; or, as formerly, she twists the hair that is over the temples, ties the ends of the twists together and lets them hang down [301] the back. Today, some girls wear barrettes to confine the hair and [515] keep it out of their eyes. Schoolchildren were rarely infested with lice; teachers in all areas remarked about this.

832 Beauty was recognized. When a man and his wife were complimented on their beautiful, dark-eyed children, the man replied, "They have inherited their beauty and eyes from my side—my mother had dark eyes; all my wife's sisters had green eyes."

301 Most girls seen wore earrings made of flattened circular pieces of silver; a few boys also did. Both boys and girls wore one or several rings. A ring was either a copper or a silver band incised with a repeated design, or a flattened 20-centavo Chilean coin. Rings were worn on any finger. No one wore a necklace. It is not an old custom for girls to wear hair ornaments; but occasionally today at fiestas an adolescent girl has her hair so adorned.

515 An occasional boy in early adolescence showed interest in his personal appearance, but none wore ornaments, unless rings are so considered. A 12-year-old boy ran home from school the day the Chilean Government school examiner arrived; his clothes, he said, were not good enough for such an occasion. A 13-year-old boy leaned sullen and abashed against a school wall, complaining that the picture that had just been taken of him by surprise would disgrace him; that he wanted to dress up and have another one taken. Girls seemed less finicky about their appearance; none, however, was seen, at any time, carelessly or slovenly dressed or dirty.

FRIENDSHIPS, LEADERSHIP, JOVIALITY

572 Intimate friendship between two boys or two girls was not institutional; an occasional boy, however, had a "chum"; so did a girl. "Those two boys [14 and 15 years of age] are always together; when anything is going on anywhere they go there together; they have been that way since they were little boys." Two 12-year-old boys asked to be photographed together: "We are friends; we have always been friends."

Games on school grounds were generally played together by children sometimes an entire twist is so rolled. Twists or braids are made 302 toward the front, tied together there, and kept from falling forward while working either by being folded on the crown and again tied there, or by being slung over the head and allowed to hang down the back (pls. 6, *e*; 56.) A woman's manner of hair dressing did not indicate whether or not she was married.

To make hair grow, women mash all parts of piliaroral (unidentified), a plant that grows in swamps, in a dish, pour boiling water on [824] it, and rub the scalp with the liquid. Keukeukina (unidentified), a climbing vine that grows in woods, is also used. When asked if men, too, use this preparation, the informant answered, "Most certainly not! Why should men want so much hair?" Men do not become bald. [145] An occasional person has gray hair.

Formerly men cut the hair shoulder length; they did not wish to appear like women. Most men today have the hair cut short as Chilean men do. An occasional one wears his long—generally he is a man who has few contacts with Chileans or is an old man, especially a cacique. Such men either wear braids, or have the hair cut ear-lobe length and wear a band around the forehead tied at the back of the head to keep the hair from eyes and face. The band (trarülonko), formerly woven of yarn, is now usually a square piece of cloth folded to form a triangle and then again folded to about 1½ inches in width. It is tied in a knot at the back of the head; ends hang loose. An informant reasoned from his observations that men today who still wear braids have a keen appreciation of the old culture, and added: "I noticed while visiting south of here that Mapuche men who were pointed out to me as having been best able to defend their rights against the Chilean Government were those who still wore braids."

Most married men wear a mustache and are proud of it. Often they let it grow past the corners of the mouth (pls. 25 and 26). Rarely does a man have a growth of hair in front of the ears. His beard is generally scant, and he usually depilates it. Men who do have heavier beards remove them by first rubbing the face well with warm dry ashes taken from the hearth—"ashes of any kind of tree will do"—and then shaving the hairs off with the edge of a clam shell, such as are found in local rivers. After shaving, the face is smeared over with yellow clay and then washed. "It is the same clay we use in pottery making; it heals the face. My husband always bathes and shaves before he goes to the Sisters."

Most informants agreed that it was not customary, formerly, for 301 men, except caciques, to wear earrings—"although some men wore [622] them, large ones, they were." A cacique wore only one, and it was of a distinct style (fig. 4, b).

301 of a distinct style (fig. 4, *b*). Boys sometimes wore them until early adolescence, "for when a boy began to be treated like a man, he wanted to look like one." In Panguipulli area, an occasional man wore them "because his grandfather, who was reared in Argentina, did so." No specimens of earrings in Museo Araucano de Temuco were labeled as having been worn by men. Whether feathers played a role in bodily adornment was not ascertained. Cooper's sources say they played a minor one (1946, p. 711).

Women wore silver pendants known as chawaitu. Chawaitu consisted of small plates decoratively incised and either with or without dangles of small silver disks. Those seen today are heirlooms, as are most personal ornaments. Since silver is expensive today and silversmiths are few in number, silver earrings of the old pattern are no longer being made, "anyway one can buy pretty ones in Chilean stores." Nose rings were not worn. A 50-year-old man had not seen men wear bracelets but had heard old persons say that formerly both men and women wore them. Women wear them today.

Men did not wear necklaces. According to Cooper's sources women wore necklaces of llanca (llanka), stones of green and bluish-green color, mostly malachite and azurite, perforated and polished. Beads of seashells were used (1946, pp. 711-712). Women I saw wore two kinds of neck pieces: one, worn close to the neck called trarupel; another extending over the chest called trapelakucha. The owners said they were heirlooms. The trapelakucha consists of three strands of silver links attached to a plate (pls. 27; 55, *3*). The plate consists of two engraved birds facing each other. To the lower ends of the three strands of links is attached a trapezoidal or half-moon-shaped plate incised with a decorative floral design. Generally disks dangle from this plate. Evidently there are standard measurements for the trapelakucha, for six specimens measured 11 inches in length, and the plate with two birds facing each other 4 to 4½ inches, horizontally.

Stickpins were used by women primarily to fasten shawls close to the neck. One type of stickpin (pl. 27, *4*), the tupu or akucha tupu, has either a discoid or a spherical head. Heads of five specimens varied in diameter from 2½ to 6 inches. The length of the pin was 8 to 10 inches. Decorations along the edge on one discoid were dots, not quite perforated, and two lines that crossed at right angles at the center. Another type of stickpin (more often it is a safety pin) was the ʃikill. (Museo Araucano de Temuco specimens were labeled siquel.) A single strand of silver links is attached to it, to the last link of the strand a formée cross, and to the cross either several small disks or one large one with several dangles. The usual length of the ʃikill is 12 or 13 inches.

A headband, called trarilonko, worn by women, has links of silver disks dangling from the section above the forehead and/or temples (pl. 55); disks number from 41 to 45. A trarülonko serves to keep the hair back and also as an ornament. The llafallafnotrowe (pl. 55, *e*), a woven band with sections of silver studs, is merely ornamental. Total lengths of llafallafnotrowe varied from 27 to 35 inches. Unstudded sections are wound around bunches of hair. An occasional adult man or woman or young woman today wears a ring made from a 20-centavo Chilean coin; many young men wear them. 301

According to Cooper's sources there was not much face or body painting until more recent times, when face painting was not uncommon (1946, p. 711). During the present study young women were seen occasionally with cheeks slightly rouged; in general, these women had been employed in Chilean families. Aside from this, there was no body painting. 302.

Brown is the accepted proper skin color. "It is the Mapuche color; Chileans could not be brown, if they wanted to be; neither could you, you were born white. Are the Mapuche in North America dark-skinned too?"

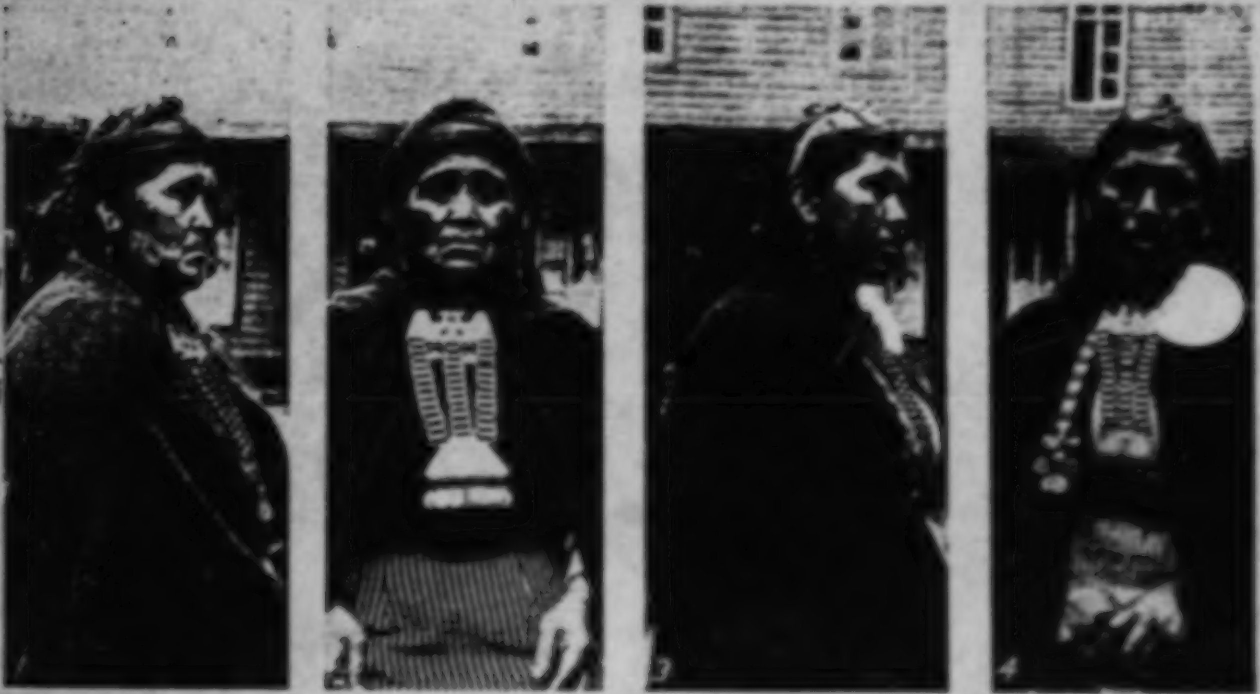
Every Araucanian man and woman is proud of a nose if it is like the bill of the bandurria, "like the nose of a Mapuche should be." It is like a Roman nose with a decided flare of the nostrils. (Cf. pls. 23, 24.) As previously stated (p. 20) no Araucanian is proud of a low hairline. Adults are known to pluck hairs in order to raise the hairline. The writer saw boys doing so to each other at school; girls also. Those who live in localities where Chileans predominate not infrequently shave the forehead to heighten the hairline. Non-Araucanian herbalists in all areas had been asked for depilatories to remove the hair on the forehead.

Instances such as the following indicated that informants were conscious of their personal appearance: A young man arranged to have a picture taken of himself, "but not until tomorrow." The next day he appeared well dressed except for a hat. He obtained a hat, which any man may borrow from the teacher when he must go where Chileans are, and posed for his picture, making certain that the hat was properly tilted and that the corners of a fancy handkerchief he had tucked into his breast pocket showed. He moved his feet about until they were in the desired position, looked into the camera, and said with satisfaction, "Bueno!" When he saw the picture (pl. 26, *g*), he was pleased, but remarked that he looked rather well fed. On another occasion, wanting a picture of a kupam (dress worn by women), I asked a young woman to remove her apron so the kupam

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

SMITHSONIAN MISCELLANEOUS COLLECTIONS

VOL. 133, PL. 27



Panguipulli women in fiesta attire: 1, 2, Two views of Domingo Huenun's wife, and 3, 4, his daughter.

[p. 92(G)]

301

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957

SG4 Araucanians SG4

Chile

SMITHSONIAN MISCELLANEOUS COLLECTIONS VOL. 133, PL. [illegible]

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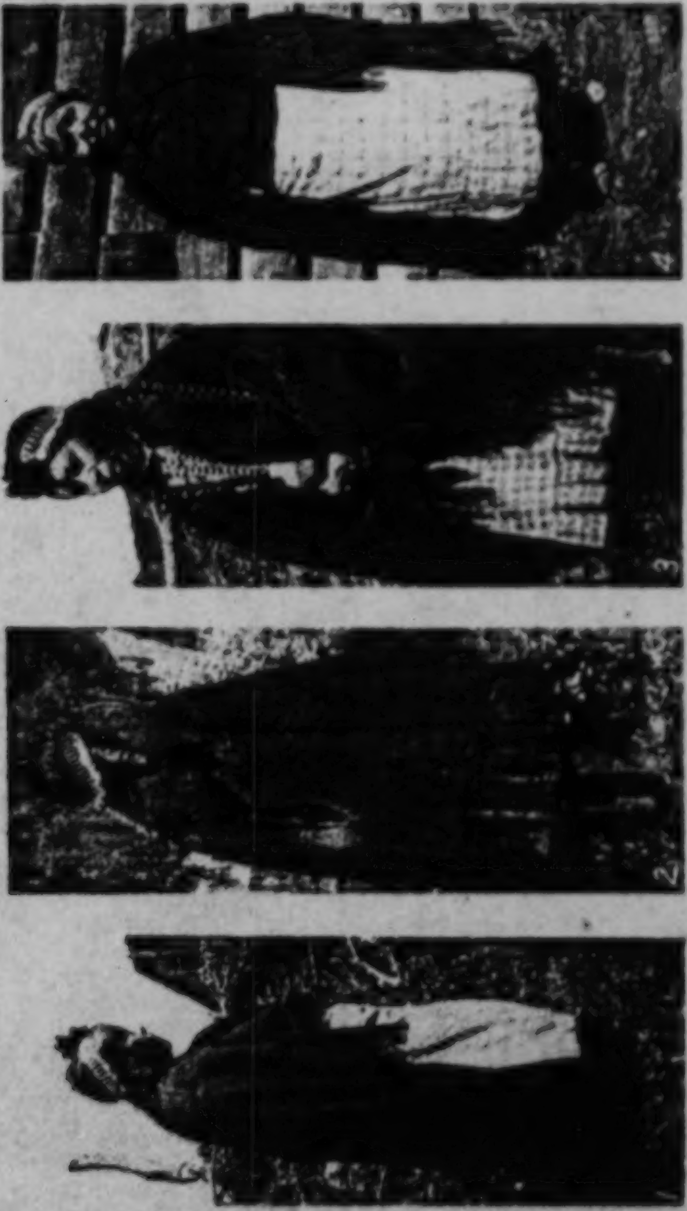

Women's clothing (Alepue area): 1-3, Women dressed for fiesta. 4, A woman in her everyday dress.

[P 220 (D)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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29¶ formant) was a boy: a chiripa (pants of chamall, a rectangularly shaped, rather loosely woven piece of cloth), a chechal (sleeveless sweater of chamall), a makuñ (poncho), a chamallwe (woven belt), a trarilonko (headband, no head covering); and for men, but not boys, a pair of trano (leather soles tied to the feet), several trarilkuque (metal bracelets), and trarinamun (metal anklets). A chiripa was secured at the waistline with a belt, and then drawn up between the legs from behind and tucked under the belt in front.

When Father Sigifredo arrived among the Araucanians about 1900 nearly all men were still wearing chiripa and walked barefoot. Conservative old men in all areas wore chiripa as recently as 1940. "In fact, the cacique [Coñoripa] who died recently never owned pants." In all areas today some men and boys still wear chiripa when working near or at home—"one must have money to buy commercially made pants; a chiripa is cheaper; our women weave chamall for chiripa."

The oldest informants had heard old people say that when they were still young the Araucanians wore clothing made of dressed hides of a wild animal "of which there were plenty then." One informant believed it was the huemul. An old woman who was listening in said she had heard that it was the puma.

● 30¶ Informants recalled the days when the caciques wore one earring, a silver one, and when a man's saddle gear was ornamented with silver; but no informant knew of any man who owned such ornaments today. All remembered that a man of means—"and most of them were that," a woman listening in interjected—could be distinguished by a trarihuewe, that is, a leather belt ornamented with silver; the belt worn by others, the chamallwe, was homewoven and not ornamented.

2¶ Today, in general, men, both young and old, wear shirts and pants the same as Chilean men, securing them with the traditional chamallwe instead of a leather belt as Chileans do. All men wear ponchos; some also wear coats. (Pls. 20, 22, 23, 25, 26.) Men often have two ponchos, one for work and errands in the area and a better one for special occasions such as trips to other areas, fiestas, and church services. At present, too, men wear shoes on these special occasions; and if a man can afford it, he will also have shoes for his sons for such occasions. At home all are barefoot, unless a man makes for himself a pair of ojotas (trano) (pl. 26, c). Ojotas are made from dressed, untanned horse or ox hide. In making a pair, a man steps on a piece of hide and marks on it the outline of his foot, making the pattern large enough so that when the edges are brought together the hide will cover the entire foot. He cuts out the sections as marked, pokes holes at close intervals along the edge and runs a thong through them.

10: Hilger E-3 (1946-1952) 1957

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He then makes a duplicate and soaks both in water. When they are soft, he places a foot on each, brings the edge over the foot by pulling up the lacing, which he ties in a knot over the toes, and goes about his work. "The dried [illegible] are then like a fitted shoe," remarked the interpreter. Sometimes a sole of wood is inserted; [illegible] is preferred for this because of its flexibility. 291

Today, clothing of preschool and school-age boys consists of knee-length pants, shirt, and sweater or coat, and usually a poncho. (Pls. 5: 7, e; 8; 9, e; 11, c, f; 12.) Boys' pants are usually made of new cloth bought in Chilean stores; occasionally they are made from a piece of flannel or a man's worn pants, but usually a man's pants are mended until they finally fall apart. Men do their own sewing by hand. Women or older girls do the knitting. A small boy's pants are sometimes knitted from yarn; so are sweaters. Shirts and coats are either bought in stores or made from worn ones of men. In Coñaripe nearly every boy between 2 and 12 years of age wore a sleeveless, short-legged coverall knitted of homespun yarn of a natural brown color, or dyed a deeper brown. It was usually knitted by the mother or an older sister—occasionally by the boy himself. Knitting was introduced by non-Araucanian teachers in recent years. Ponchos were woven of yarn. 251 264 [77]

In general boys were barefoot; an occasional one in Coñaripe area wore ojotas to school. Any boy wearing shoes gives evidence thereby that his parents are people of means. A fond aunt who could not afford shoes put stockings on her little nephew when his picture was about to be taken (pl. 4, c), as stockings give greater prestige than do bare feet. Hats, too, were a sign of a standard of living higher than mere necessities. More hats than shoes were seen on boys in all areas. Boys who had hats wore them at fiestas, when going to town or to church services, when bringing messages or mail to the worker, when having a picture taken, and occasionally at school. Younger boys wore knitted berets (pl. 8, c). A 2-year-old Coñaripe area boy wore a cap, "because the sun shining on his head makes him sick," said his 13-year-old sister. 241

Regarding women's clothing and accessories the 70-year-old Panguipulli man said the following articles were the customary ones when he was a child: a kupam (dress, homewoven of black yarn); an ikülla or iculla (shawl woven of black yarn); a trarihue (belt); two [illegible] ([illegible]), one used in pinning the dress and the other the shawl; a trarilonko (headband of silver medallions) or a [illegible] (headband ornamented with little silver studs) or an unornamented woven band—all worn to keep the hair from the face; and 291 301 291 301

18: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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for 3 or 4 years in boarding schools did not keep them from wearing the kepam as adult women, noted the interpreter. "I have noticed, too," she added, "that as soon as they marry, they wear the kepam. One young woman told me recently that, in any event, the kepam was more comfortable." Girls of school age wore modern dresses, unless they came from very isolated areas, in which case they wore the kepam; older ones wore calico dresses; younger ones, either calico or jumper-like knitted ones. (Pls. 5, 1; 7, 4, 5; 11, 2; 17.) 291

Children are barefoot. If shoes are owned they are usually worn only at church services and when going to Chilean towns. One little Alepúe girl wore her sister's shoes to school, "because I have a cold."

Women today who own traditional silver accessories and ornaments quite evidently wear them with a feeling of distinction. (Pls. 27, 55.) 301 ●

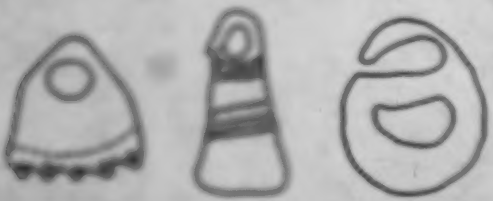

Fig. 6.—Women's earrings. (Courtesy Museo Araucano de Temuco.)

They are highly prized, and are always worn at festivals, "or when the Mapuche meet in large crowds anywhere." At a festival in Alepúe area, nine women, probably older than 50, who wore silver ornaments were pointed out by other women as being dressed in the "real Mapuche way of old times." With few exceptions, silver ornaments were heirlooms, and in nearly all instances had belonged to an old relative of the owner, usually the woman's mother. "All these on my head were given to my mother when she was a young girl." Silver things worn by women were stickpins, safety pins, large ornamental pins, or pendants, headbands, and head ornaments. (Cf. pp. 59-61 for personal adornments.)

Clothes are washed on the rocks or on wooden slats in running water found near the ruka, usually the same brook from which drinking water is obtained, but below the source of the drinking water. Women and older girls do the washing, with, occasionally, a boy of school age helping. Several hours previous to washing, things to be washed are soaked in water at home, and soap, if there is any, is added. In most areas the water is soft, and often non-Araucanians used 296

881 then gave me some nice clothes. I was 15 years old then. No, I was not given any herbal decoctions." Several informants spoke of a girl's voice changing about the time of her first menses.

841 There were no taboos regarding the use of dishes by menstruating women. "No one ever used anyone else's dishes at any time; everyone in the family had his own plate or bowl, and spoon. And each one knew his own, because his mark was engraved on his own, such as a bird or a tree, or some such mark." She continued, "My mother was right: it ended before I was 50 years old. I had my last child when I was 44. Soon after that I had irregular periods, hot spells, was dizzy always, my teeth ached; but all this ended too."

Of a menstruating woman it is said, "She experiences the moon." Of a woman past menopause it is said, "She no longer experiences the moon."

ADULT BEHAVIOR

CARE OF THE HAIR, BATHING, PERSONAL ADORNMENTS, PERSONAL APPEARANCE

302 A low hairline, an Araucanian trait, was not desired; neither was facial hair. Ashes, "any ashes from the fireplace," were rubbed on a boy's face to keep him from having facial hair. A considerable growth of hair on the forehead was removed by smearing either dough or flour mixed with water, or a paste of blood and ashes, over the forehead, letting it dry, and then rubbing it back and forth, thus pulling out the hair—a process called "cleaning the forehead" ([illegible]). If there were only single hairs, they were jerked out with the fingers, or with a finger and the help of an implement, like a stone. Baldness [145] occurred when a man reached 100 or more years of age. "My father was 130 years old, so old that he lost all his hair."

515 [824] The hair is washed when bathing. A lather of leaves of [illegible] is used in place of soap, as formerly, especially by those who cannot afford soap. If a luster is desired, the hair, when dry, is saturated with several-days-old urine, an act called [illegible]. Bathing is done in creeks, rivers, or lakes. Many persons bathe daily.

302 A hairbrush was made from the roots of "a plant that grows on trees." The roots were wound about with narrow strips of bark to form a handle; the other ends of the plant were used in brushing. Such a brush in the collections of Parque Nacional de Lanín (specimen No. 77) is 14 inches long and 6 inches in circumference at brush end.

301 Formerly, every adult person wore silver ornaments. These were earrings, necklaces, bracelets, rings, and studdings on belts. Women

18: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957

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also were stickpins and hair ornaments. Men often decorated with silver ornaments the handles of long knives, their saddles, stirrups, and bridles. 301

The only silver ornaments I saw were rings. Old informants said that all silver things were confiscated by the Argentine army when it overran the Araucanian lands. A man in his eighties noted that many families owned a boxful of silver things then; "boxes in those days were so long and so high [3 by 1½ by 1½ feet], and were made of hide. It got to the point that whenever word was passed that the soldiers were again on their way to chase us to another place, every family put all its silver things into an olla and buried it; the empty boxes they left behind. Each man marked the buried place of his family's olla in his own way. Every man could have found his own again, but so many of our men were killed, or died before we got back, that some ollas were never again found; much silver was lost. I have heard people say that occasionally someone would see a streak of light, like lightning, shoot up from a place in the earth and then drop again. Those who saw this went to that place and found buried there an olla with silver things. They kept what they found. But I think that was stealing."

Young Argentine men today tell of spending Sunday afternoons and other leisure time looking for burial deposits of silver or digging for silver things in old graves. They speak of these places as *chenque* (Tehuelche word for burials). Because of a recent superstitious belief that disturbing an old burial will bring death to the one doing so within two years (something which happened to a man who robbed a grave between San Martín de los Andes and Bariloche after Araucanians had foretold his death), fewer graves are being disturbed. In 1952 canal diggers on an estancia came upon graves that contained silver ornaments. They looked at the ornaments but refrained from handling them, shoveled them back into the graves, covered them with dirt, and diverted the canal.

MODESTY, COURTESY, HELPFULNESS, HOSPITALITY

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Modesty in women was highly respected and was taught to girls by their mothers. Prostitutes were punished to the extent of being hanged.

An atmosphere of courtesy prevailed everywhere during the present study; it was especially noticeable where old persons were in control. On one occasion an informant, with much concern, suggested to my field assistant that she move into the shade, "for the sun is the moon- 576

622 "I have never seen one like this; this looks like a revolver! I have heard old people tell that formerly a cacique had in his house an axlike implement that indicated to others he had authority. I have forgotten its Araucanian name. But that was an ax; it was nothing like this thing." An 85-year-old woman agreed with Kolupan, and added that the axlike implement passed from a cacique, at his death, to his heir. Toki, similar to the one shown on plate 74, 3, are exhibited in the Museo de La Plata and the Museo Nahuel Huapi, and there are some in private collections in Argentina—these were found in very old graves in Argentina. One was found by well diggers deep in the earth in Purén (Chile). These toki, except one in the Museo Nahuel Huapi, are of dark engrained stone; one (No. 471) in Museo Nahuel Huapi is of granite. Araucanians believe that stone from which both types of emblems were made can be found in places where lightning has struck the earth.

[301] Informants recalled the days when the caciques wore a distinctive earring, a large square one. One such earring in the collections of Parque Nacional de Lanín is made of dark engrained stone, similar to that of the toki.

[62] Whenever a cacique and his tribe settled down, they set up their toldos some distance apart, but always within sight of one another. The cacique regulated the location of the toldos. (According to Kolupan the army introduced the word toldo and called a settlement of toldos a toldería; the Araucanians called their dwellings ruka.) Animals grazed far beyond the toldería. An informant drew an ellipse in the sand and explained, "Here [center] was the place for the cacique's toldos—he usually had several wives, sometimes as many as four or five, and each wife generally had a toldo. About here [one end of the ellipse] lived the families of the men who were expected to defend the people: those who had lances with arrowheads, and also those who had boleadoras. Out here and here and here [along periphery in scattered fashion] lived the other families. When we moved into what is now San Martín de los Andes area, the cacique had his toldos where the village of San Martín de los Andes is today, close to the banks of Lake Lacar. The toldos of the men with the lances and boleadoras were where the Argentine military post is today [on the outskirts of San Martín de los Andes]; some of the remaining families lived along both shores of Lake Lacar, but most of them lived in the Vega Valle—the grazing lands were best there."

Occasionally a tribe divided: the Kalfükura were known to have done so. Namuncurá, one of the sons of Kalfükura, after the death of his father went to Chile with some families of his father's tribe; his

18: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957

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291 292 Ojotas were made from horsehide. The person for whom they were intended stood on a piece of hide, which was then cut to shape well beyond the outline of the foot. The edge of the leather was then punctured at intervals with holes through which a lacing of cowhide was passed. The lacing could be drawn to bring the hide together at the ankle, where it was secured with a knot.

Boots were made by stripping the hide off the legs of a horse, removing the hoofs, and then treating the flesh side as were the hides used as table coverings. The rider's toes protruded through the opening made by the removal of the hoof. "Toes needed to protrude, since the big toe controlled the stirrup," noted the informant. If a boot did not fit snug, it was tied along the ankle. Spurs were fastened about the ankle and instep. A spur was a nail hammered through a block of wood that was fastened to a band of leather.

291 A woman was completely clothed if she wore a dress (*kepam*), shawl (*[illegible]*), stickpin (*tupu*), neck and breast ornaments (*[illegible]*), headband (*trarilonko*), and silver earrings. The dress reached from shoulders to ankles and overlapped in front where it was held in position by being pinned together with a *tupu*. A woven belt, wider than one used by men, secured the *kepam* at the waistline. Back and front were overlapped on one or both shoulders and fastened with a little stick or twig, more recently with a safety pin. A [illegible]-year-old woman examined a photograph of a Chilean woman in *kepam* and said sadly, "It is a pity that all this had to end. I wore a *kepam* until the soldiers came and chased us from place to place. It was impossible in those days for women to set up their looms long enough to weave. We had to buy clothing then to make clothing. Anyway, the Whites wanted us to do away with our own way of doing things, and that included our way of dressing."

The shawl was a piece of woven material approximately a yard square. If a woman wove one for her own use, it was of one color throughout; if she intended it as a gift (shawls were often among the gifts exchanged at the marriage ceremonial), she wove it of one color with a border of white. When guanaco wool became scarce, sheep wool dyed black became a favorite color. No design was woven into a shawl.

301 The *tupu* was a stickpin with a large silver disk. The *[illegible]* had several pieces of silver strung one below the other, often with dangles, and ended in a cross. The *trarilonko* was a silver-ornamented headband worn to keep the hair in place.

291 Adults today wear modern clothes patterned after Argentine contemporary styles, made of factory-woven cloth. Factory-made scarves

[illegible] Faron E-4,5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

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12: Faron E-4,5 (1952-1954) 1964
SO4 Araucanians SO4
Mapuche

[Facing p. iii]

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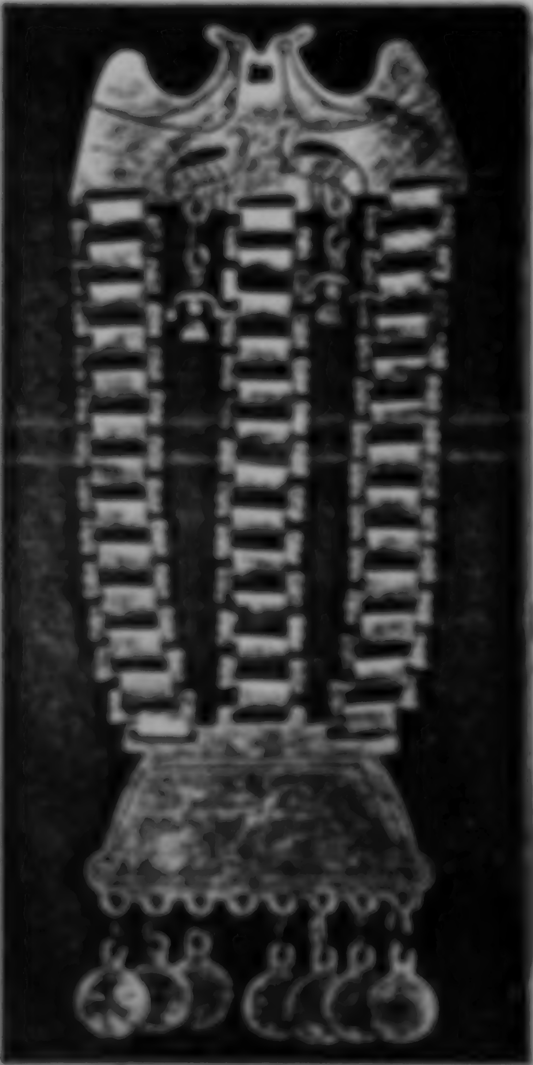

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"What has
happened to you
on your trip
through the sky?
Have you become
hawks of the sun?"

Mapuche invocation
of ancestral spirits

[Frontispiece]

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a dance around the secondary altar before returning to the main one.

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Meanwhile, the purun (a dance) has begun around the rewe (main altar). The awn riders now take up their positions in the purun, the two sergeants assuming command of the dancers—subject to the orders relayed through the captains from the nillatufe. After a series of fast and slow purun, the dancing comes to an end. There might be a special lonkopurun, danced by men to dramatize the relation between the living and their dead chiefs, and to show how the ancestral chiefs aid their descendants and combat the forces of evil. All purun dancers (women are allowed and expected to perform) wear sprigs of canelo or maqui—sometimes shafts of wheat, barley, or a few kernels of maize—which they take from the rewe when beginning to dance and replace when finished, endowing themselves with a sacred quality meanwhile. As in the awn encirclement, the purun is also danced around the main altar from right to left, or counterclockwise. The awn and the purun are accompanied by the playing of pifulka (single or multitone whistles of clay, wood, or stone), the sounding of the trutruka (a long trumpet), and the continual beating of the kultrun (drum). [304] [784] [534]

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After the purun is finished, the men line up on one side of the altar (rewe) facing the nillatufe, and the women participants on the other (left) hand of the nillatufe. They form two lines stretching toward the east between the rewe and the field. The nillatufe then begins his second prayer, which concludes the first sequence, the early morning ritual. The nillatufe utters his oration in four stanzas. During the intervals between the stanzas, the opposed lines of men and women dance standing in place. The words of the prayers (or at least their sacred meaning) are incomprehensible to many of those assembled. [535]

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The nillatufe, with assistants from the captains and sergeants, kills one of the sheep staked near the rewe. He does this with a long knife, slitting the animal's throat. While the sheep is bleeding to death, the nillatufe cuts off its right ear, which he holds aloft while speaking a prayer. After this, he opens the chest cavity of the dead animal, frees the heart and withdraws it. He holds the heart aloft, again in his right hand, and utters a